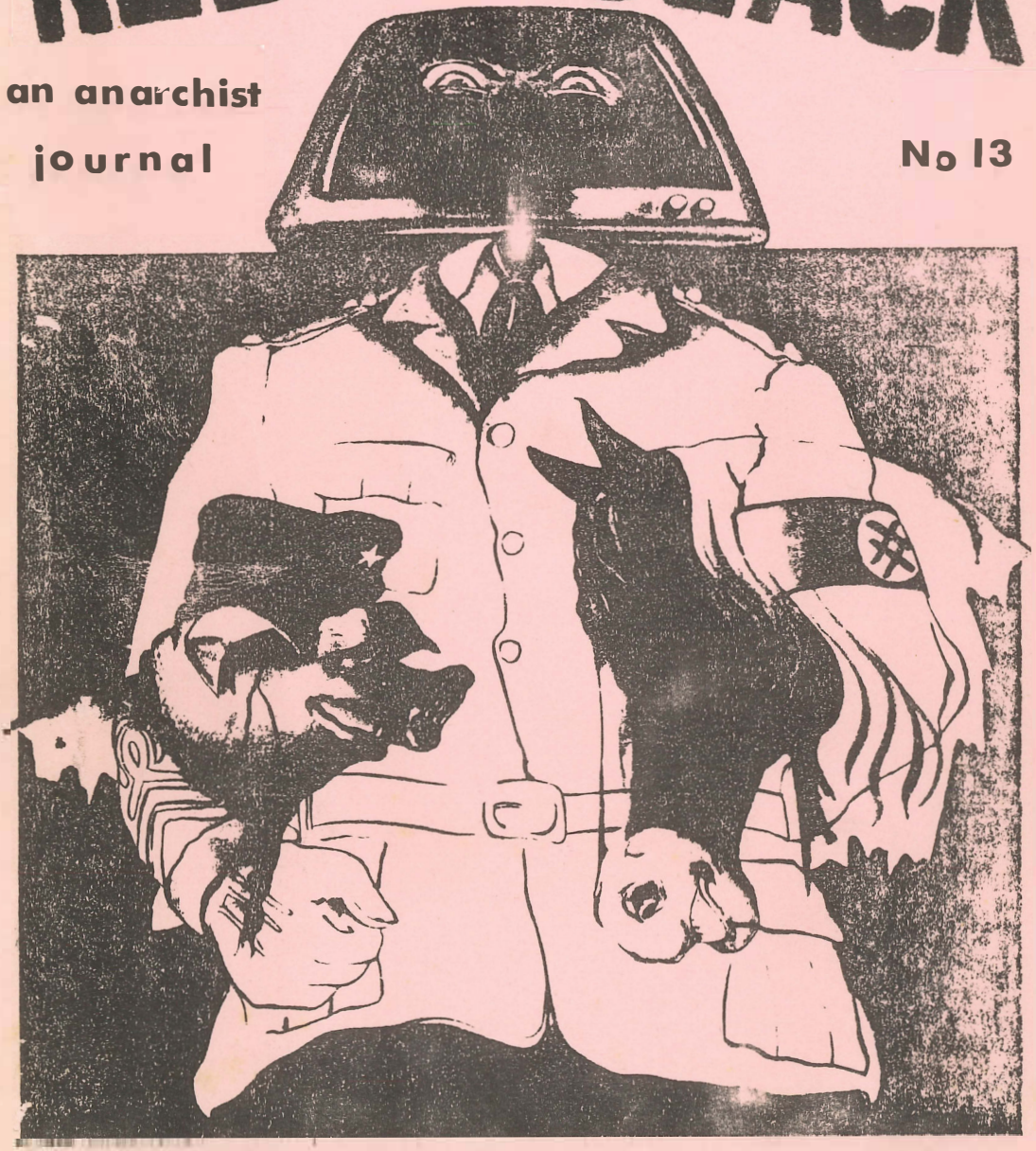
RED AND BLACK

an anarchist journal

No 13



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No 13 **winter 1984**

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FREEDOM IS NOT A CHOICE BUT AN
ABSENCE OF A MASTER

Editor: J. Grancharoff

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IMPORTANT

The dead line for the contributions for the next Red and Black is 15th of Februarty 1985.

1984: Orwell's and Ours

Last May, a remarkable event took place in Moscow. A courageous newscaster, Vladimir Danchev, denounced the Russian war in Afghanistan over Moscow radio in five broadcasts extending over a week, calling on the rebels "not to lay down their arms" and to fight against the Soviet "invasion" of their country. The Western press was overwhelmed with admiration for his startling departure from the official Soviet propaganda line." In the New York Times, one commentator wrote that Danchev had "revolted against the standards of double-think and newspeak." In Paris, a prize was established in his honor to be given to "a journalist who fights for the right to be informed." In December, Danchev returned to work after psychiatric treatment. A Russian official was quoted as saying: "He was not punished, because a sick man cannot be punished."

The event was considered to have afforded a glimpse into the world of 1984, and Danchev's act was justly regarded as a triumph of the human spirit, a refusal to be cowed by totalitarian violence.

What was remarkable about Danchev's action was not merely the protest, but the fact that he referred to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan as "invasion." In Soviet theology, there is no such event as "the Russian invasion of Afghanistan." Rather, there is a "Soviet defense of Afghanistan" against bandits supported from abroad. As in the case of most propaganda systems, here too there is a kernel of truth concealed in a massive lie. The Mujahidin do operate from "sanctuaries" in Pakistan, where CIA and Chinese agents oversee the flow of arms, and the guerrillas take credit for having destroyed 50% of all schools and hospitals along with many other acts regarded as "atrocities" by the invaders, who have stated that they will withdraw if Afghanistan is secured from attack from Pakistan. This stance is dismissed by the West on the proper grounds that aggressors should withdraw "unconditionally," as the UN Security Council insisted, with US support that was quickly withdrawn, in the case of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The West has also been justly indignant when the Russians cynically denounce the "terrorism" of the resistance, or when they claim, absurdly, to be defending Afghanistan from these "bandits" who murder innocents.

The USSR protests that it was invited in but as the London Economist grandly proclaimed an invader is an invader unless invited in by a government with some claim to legitimacy. Only in Orwellian Newspeak can such aggression by characterized as 'defense against externally-supported terrorism.'

Orwell's 1984 was largely drawn from the practice of existing Soviet society, which had been portrayed with great accuracy by Maximov, Souvarine, Beck and Godin, and many others. It was only in cultural backwaters such as Paris that the facts were long denied, so that Khrishchev's revelations and later Solzhenitsyn's reiteration of the familiar story came as such a revelation at a time when the intelligentsia were prepared to march in a different parade. What was striking about Orwell's vision was not his portrayal of existing totalitarianism, but his warning that it could happen here.

So far, at least, that has not come to pass. Industrial capitalist societies bear little resemblance to Orwell's Oceanian - though the terror-and- torture regimes thay have imposed and maintained elsewhere achieve levels of violence that Orwell never depicted. Central America being only the most obvious current case.

Implicit in the press coverage of the Danchev affair was a note of self-congratulation: it couldn't happen here. Here, it requires little courage to defy the government on a point of doctrine. Certainly no Danchev has been sent to a psychiatric hospital for calling an invasion an invasion." But let us inquire further into just why this is the case. One possibility is that the question does not arise because, statistical error aside, there are simply no Danchevs here: journalists and other intellectuals are so subservient to the doctrianl system that they cannot even perceive that "an invader is an invader unless invited in by a government with a claim to legitimacy," when it is the US that is the invader. This would be a stage beyond what Orwell imagined, a stage beyond what Soviet totalitarianism has achieved. Is this merely an abstract possibility or is it an uncomfortable close assessment of our own world?

Consider the following facts. In 1962, the US Air Force began its direct attacks against the rural population of South Vietnam, with heavy bombing and defoliation, as part of a program intended to drive millions of people into camps where, surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, they would be "protected" from the guerrillas they were supporting, the "Vietcong," the southern branch of the former anti-French resistance (the Vietminh). This is what we call "aggression," "an invasion," when conducted by some official enemy. The GVN had no legitimacy and little popular support and in fact its leadership was regularly overthrown in US-backed coups when it was feared that they might

arrange a settlement with the South Vietnamese enemy. Some 70,000 Vietcong had already been killed in a US-directed terror campaign before the outright US invasion in 1962. The US invaders continued to block all attempts at political settlement, and in 1964 began preparations for a vast escalation of the war against the south combined with ana attack against North Vietnam, Laos and later also Cambodia.

For the past 22 years, I have searched in vain for even a single reference in mainstream journalism or scholarship to an "American invasion of South Vietnam," or American "aggression" in South Vietnam. In the American doctrinal system, there is no such event. There is no Danchev, though in this case it took no courage to tell the truth, merely honestly. Even at the peak of opposition to the US war, only a minuscule portion of the articulate intelligentsia opposed the war on grounds of principle - on the grounds that aggression is wrong--while most came to oppose it, well after leading business circles did, on the "pragmatic" grounds that the costs were too high. Popular attitudes, incidentally, were rather different. As late as 1982, over 70% of the population (but far fewer "opinion leaders") regarded the war not just as a mistake, but as "fundamentally and morally wrong," a problem known as "the Vietnam syndrome" in American political discourse.

These facts should give us pause. How was such astonishing subservience to the doctrinal system achieved? We can begin to understand by looking more closely at the debate in mainstream circles between the "hawks" and the "doves." The hawks were those, like journalist Joseph Alsop, who felt that with sufficient dedication the war could be won. The doves agreed with liberal historian Arthur Schlesinger that it probably could not, though like him, they took for granted that "we all pray that Mr. Alsop will be right." It was a "hopeless cause, "as critic Anthony Lake recently observed. All agree that it was "a failed crusade" undertaken for motives that were "noble" though "illusory" and with "the loftiest intentions," in the words of Stanley Karnow in his recent best-selling history, highly regarded for its critical candor.

Strikingly omitted from the debate is the view that the US could have won, but that it would have been wrong to allow aggression and massacre to succeed. This was the position of the authentic peace movemnt (if the war was a "hopeless cause," why bother to protest and disrupt it, why suffer the consequences of that protest, which were often severe?).

This quite typical commentary illustrates the genious of "brainwashing under freedom." In a totalitarian system, it is required only that official doctrine be obeyed. In the democratic systems of thought control, it is deemed necessary to take over the entire spectrum of discussion:

nothing must remain thinkable apart from the Party Line. State propaganda is often not expressed, merely presupposed as the framework for discussion among right-minded people. The debate, therefore, must be between the "doves" and "hawks," the Schlesingers and the Alsops. The position that the US is engaged in aggression, and that such aggression is wrong, must remain unthinkable and unexpressed, with reference to the Holy State. The "responsible critics" make an estimable contribution to this cause, which is why they are tolerated, indeed honored.

The nature of Western systems of indoctrination was not perceived by Orwell and is typically not understood by dictators, who fail to comprehend the utility for propaganda of a critical stance that incorporates the basic assumption of official doctrine and thereby marginalizes authentic and rational critical discussion, which must be blocked. There is rarely any departure from this pattern. Perhaps the sharpest critic of the American war in mainstream journalism was Anthony Lewis, who argued that the US involvement began with "blundering efforts to do good" but by 1969, it was clear that it was "a disastrous mistake." Few academic scholars were more critical of US policy than John K. Fairbank, who informed the American Historical Society in his December 1968 presidential address, a year after the Tet offensive had convinced much of the corporate elite to abandon the effort to subjugate South Vietnam, that we entered the war in an "excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence," but it was a mistake to do so, as events showed. Few dictators can boast such total conformity to Higher Truths.

The devices that are used to ensure such obedience are effective though not overly subtle. Consider, for example, what is universally called the "peace process" in the Middle East: the Camp David accords of 1978-9. Few ask why the inhabitants of the territories under Israeli occupation reject the "peace process" with virtual unanimity. A moment's thought suffices to provide the reason. As was obvious at once, the "peace process" served to remove Egypt from the conflict so that Israel would then be free, with US support, to extend its settlement and repression in the occupied territories and attack Lebanon, exactly as it has been doing since. But such elementary observations are excluded from "responsible" discussion: the US is committed to the creation of a powerful and expansionist Israel as a "strategic asset." Anything that contributes to this end is, by definition, the "peace process." The term itself eliminates any further discussion: who can be against peace?

There are thousands of similar examples. The US marines in Lebanon are the "peace-keeping force," and actions taken against them are "terrorism." For much of the population, they are simply consummating the Israeli invasion with its "new order" :the rule of right-wing Chris-

tians and privileged Muslim sectors over the poor and disadvantaged whose "terrorism" in their own eyes is resistance, a point of view excluded from discussion here. When Israel bombs villages near Baalbek with 500 casualties, mostly civilians, including 150 schoolchildren, that is not "terrorism" but "retaliation," and it receives no comment or censure here: as an American ally, Israel inherits the right of aggression and massacre. Often, unwanted facts are simply suppressed. The "secret bombings" of Laos and Cambodia were "secret" because the media refused to report the ample evidence available. The US-backed Indonesian aggression in Timor, leading to the death of perhaps 200,000 people and a Biafra-style famine, was effectively suppressed for over 4 years. Renewed attacks on the population are in progress now, and are also being suppressed.

I doubt that any story has ever received the coverage of the downing of KAL flight 007 last fall, sure proof that the Russians are the most barbaric devils since Attila the Hun so that we must place Pershing missiles in Germany and steps up the war against Nicaragua. The densely-printed NY Times index devotes 7 full pages to the atrocity in September 1982 alone. In the midst of the furor, UNITA, the "freedom fighters" supported by the US and South Africa, took credit for downing an Angolan jet with 126 killed. There was no ambiguity, the plance was not off course flying over sensitive installations, there was no RC 135 US reconnaisance jet nearby confusing the issue (possibly jamming radar). It was simply premeditated murder. The incident received 100 words in the NY Times and no comment anywhere in the media.

This is not the only such case. In October 1976, a Cuban airliner was bombed by CIA-backed terrorists, killing 73 civilians. In 1973 Israel downed a civilian plane lost in a sandstorm over the Suez canal with 110 killed. There was no protest, only editorial comments about how "No useful purposes is served by an acrimonious debate over the assignment of blame" (NY Times). Four days later, Prime Minister Golda Meir visited the US where she was troubled with no embarrassing questions and returned with new gifts of military aircraft. Contrary to recent falsehoods, Israel refused to pay compensation or to accept any responibility; it offered only ex gratia payments, funded by the usual generous donor from abroad. In 1955, an Air India plane carrying the Chinese delegation to the Bandung conference was blown up in the air in what the Hong Kong police called a "carefully planned mass murder." An American defector later claimed that it was he who planted the bomb in the service of the CIA. None of these incidents demonstrate "barbarism"; all have been quickly forgotten.

One can offer thousands of such examples. In such ways, history is shaped in the interests of those in power.

All of this falls under the rubric of what Walter Lippmann, in 1921, called "the manufacture of consent," an art which is "capable of great refinements" and will lead to a "revolution" in "the practice of democracy." This art has been much admired in the social sciences. The well- known American political scientist Harold Lasswell wrote in 1933 that we must avoid "democratic dogmatisms", such as the belief that people are "the best judges of their own interests." Democracy permits the voice of the people to be heard, and it is the task of the intellectual to ensure that this voice endorses what far-sighted leaders know to be the right course. Propaganda is to democracy what violence is to totalitarianism. The techniques have been honed to high art, far beyond anything that Orwell dreamt of. The device of feigned dissent, incorporating the doctrines of the state religion and eliminating rational critical discussion is one of the more subtle means, though simple lying and suppression of fact and other crude techniques are also highly effective.

It should be noted that ideological control (Agitprop) is far more important in the democracies than in states that rule by violence, and is therefore more refined, and more effective. There are no Danchevs here, except at the remote margins of political debate.

For those who stubbornly seek freedom, there can be no more urgent task than to come to understand the mechanisms and practices of indoctrination. These are easy to perceive in the totalitarian societies, much less so in the system of "brainwashing under freedom" to which we are subjected and shich all too often we serve as willing or unwitting instruments.

N. Chomsky.

OUR INDIFFERENCE IS OUR CHAIN, AND WE ARE OUR OWN TYRANTS BECAUSE WE DON'T DO ANYTHING TO DESTROY IT.

R. Flores Magnon.

AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF TROTSKY AND TROTSKYISM. Chapter III

Trotsky, like many other anti-Leninists, was brought closer to the Bolsheviks by his opposition to World War One. As a socialist he was interested in seeing a peace without victors or vanquished. Lenin saw things differently. He believed that the soldiers and workers should turn the world war into a world wide revolutionary war. Instead of fighting each other, they should ignore nationalism, should unite and fight against the international ruling classes, and try to build socialism on international base. This idea was hailed as Lenin's outstanding theoretical achievement, even if it was expounded by Proudhon and Bakunin in the mid nineteenth century (1). In Marxist terms, Karl Liebneich the Senior elaborated it in 1893. His son and Rosa Luxemburg took up these ideas independently of Lenin in 1914. As to the anarchists, those who opposed the war took either a line similar to Trotsky's or expounded the idea of an international revolution. Many ordinary people, the name of whom are unknown, who had never read Marxist or Anarchist writings upheld similar ideas. So much for Lenin's theoretical genius.

During the war, Trotsky travelled through Europe. With Mensheviks, anarchists and syndicalists he worked in the French anti-war movement until he was expelled by the government. The same thing happened in Spain where, he was officially declared a "dangerous anarchist."

On the new year's day of 1917, it seemed even more unlikely that he was a candidate for the position of future co-ruler of Russia. In January of that year he was only a forced deportee on a ramshakle ship approaching New York. His future seemed one of lonely poverty striken exile. Soon after his arrival in America, the Russian Revolution broke out. By May he was back in Petrograd. He felt that his politics were the same as the Bolsheviks. Nonetheless, he delayed joining them before he could persuade his several thoudands followers to follow him.

In 1917 Trotsky joined Lenin. The two men had a lot in common. Lenin quickly forgot the old feuds between them, but the Bolshevik Hierarchy did not forget. They always considered him an outsider and only Lenin's wishes kept him in the party (2). In September, he became a member of the Bolshevik Party and was immediately, on Lenin's insistence, made the member of the Central Committe. His climbing in the Party was similar to that of Stalin whom Lenin promoted as a mem-

ber of the Central Committe at the founding Bolshevik Party conference in 1911 (3). Trotsky's quick promotion increased the hostility and the jealousy among Lenin's underlings: Zinoviev, Trotsky's brother in law Kamenev, Vorishilov and Stalin.

Between the outbreak of the February Revolution and the Bolshevik seizure of power in October there were many facets of the struggle for power: 1). The Provisional Government of Kerensky was a feuding coalition of bourgeois centrists, militarists, regional nationalists, liberals, moderate conservatives, radicals and agrarian reform socialists. Kerensky's first priority was to establish a bourgeois parliamentary democracy along the English lines. 2) The various vanguard parties (Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Left Social Revolutionaries) wanted to oust him, set themselves up as the alternative government, end the war and institute socialism as they saw it. 3). The soviets were an extremely powerful force spreading rapidly throughout the country. They vied with the bureaucracy for control of production and distribution, the power to make military discussions and for political power in general. Supposedly autonomous, the soviets were a target for takeover from all the political parties. If one of the parties were to get control of the soviets and get the trust of the soviets members it could achieve power over Russia. 4). The various rightist groups were based mainly in the military. Their effectiveness had been reduced by the war and the revolution but they were still potentially powerful in 1917.

The anarchists, although their numbers and influence increased dramatically with the outbreak of the revolution, were a weak movement in Russia. Their slogans were the most popular but as far as organization, ideas, unity and political acumen were concerned they were generally inadequate (4).

During the Revolution, the Mensheviks occupied themselves with what was possible to achieve according to Marx's theories, while Lenin shrewdly pushed up the increasingly popular anarchist slogans:" Down with the War! " "All power to the Soviets!" "For Freedom, for Socialism!" etc. He made such slogans Bolshevik promises and ignoring all the other groups claimed his party was the only party fighting for these aims, the only way to achieve them was to put the Bolshevik party, the protector of the soviets, into power. Supposedly all the other anti-tsarist groups and parties were capitalist props and /or fools. With his strictly organized party and Machiavellian ruthlessness Lenin hammered this message home through his propaganda channels.

In speech after speech he promised "not to permit the rise of totalitarian power of state officials," "not to permit the re-establishment of standing army set apart from the people, an army which merely

will be back of any attempt to rob the people of its freedom"(5). At the same time he maintained "In every constitutional country citizens have an incontestable right to organize demonstrations." In the soviet republic there would be "no police force, nor a standing army instead of which, according to my deepest conviction, there would be only universal armament of the people, nor should there be an officialdom enjoying, in fact, an irremovable tenure of office and privileged bourgeois renumeration for their services. We uphold the principle of election, the right to recall any official at any time and we are for proletarian standards of renumerating officials(6)."

Other popular slogans Lenin took up were the abolition of death penalty and censorship, distributing the land to the peasants, and factories to be run by the workers. State power should be cut to minimum and bureaucracy eliminated. All groups would have the right to carry out political agitation. Without exception exactly the opposite had happened(7). He would rationalize that by the harshness of the civil war. An excuse that falls flat on its face. The restoration of the death penalty came only in two days after theBolsheviks seized power. All the other repressions were established well before the civil war began in April 1918. It is difficult to see how Trotsky's banning of all cabarets, the persection of all homosexuals as spies and the suppression of any culture outside Marxist tastes helped win the civil war? All these measures and many more like them would have made the Bolsheviks extremely unpopular but in opposition they expressed the popular will to an increasing degree.

In June 1917 Kerensky launched a massive offensive which turned into a retreat. This lead to turbulent "July days" which Lenin described as "something more than a demonstration but less than a revolution." These disturbances were put down and the best known militants were jailed or went into hiding. The revolutionaries were desarmed and their activities curbed. Then the next month the right wing general, Kornilov, tried a coup. Kerensky made a pact with the left parties, the soviets were armed and Kornilov's offensive melted away. His troops were unwilling to fight the workers after coming into contact with revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The threat had gone but the armed soviets had remained. The Provisional government could not rely on the army anylonger and its popular support was dwindling.

The decision to overthrow the Provisional government and rule in its place was made by the Bolshevik Central Committee by eight votes to two. Their takeover was set for November 7th, two days before the nationwide elections were scheduled. Lenin and Trotsky engineered the revolution; it was mainly the Kronstadters and Lettish soldiers who pro-

vided the mass support. The numbers involved were much smaller than in the February Revolution and the July days. By the end of November the Bolsheviks held several major cities: Petrograd, Kronstadt-Orienbaum, Oriel and Moscow. At this time they had three solid bases for their power structure: The Baltic Fleet and Kronstadt, The Petrograd proletariat and the 17,000 Lettish sharpshooters and ex-soldiers personally loyal to Lenin.

What did Lenin say after he was in power? "When the State has become proletarian, when it has become the apparatus of violence exercised by the workers over the bourgeoisie, then we shall affirm our allegiance to centralism and strong government. The state- it is we, it is the proletariat, it is the vanguard of the working class. (8)." He publicly boasted, he had always been in favour of one man management. Collective management was "utopian", "impractical" and "injurious." He "pointed out the necessity of recognizing the dictatorial authority of single individuals for the purpose of carrying out the soviet idea(9)." Stalin and Trotsky understood Lenin's deceit very well. In 1918 Stalin stated that the Bolsheviks "are heading towards centralism via federalism". Trotsky stated that "At the time Lenin kept on hammering upon the idea of terror being unavoidable... Lenin never omitted the chance to repeat these ideas whenever the question of revolution and dictatorhip was discussed, especially in presence of Left Social Revolutionaries or some wavering communists. "Where do we have dictatorship? Show it to me, we have a mess but not a dictatorship! These speeches expressed his actual sentiments(10)."

As the dictatorship consolidated, Trotsky was made Minister of War and was totally in charge of the military effort. His only military experience consisted of being a war correspondent in the Balkan War. He made some desastrous decisions, yet on the whole he was a good military commander and an excellent organizer.

In January 1918 the Red Army swept down on the Ukraine to destroy the right wing nationalist movement there. Soon after the first skirmishes of theCivil War began, although war did not break out till April, Trotsky and Lenin had their first major desagreement over whether to sign the German Peace Treaty. The Germans wanted a quarter of western Russia and other harsh trade conditions. Trotsky wanted to fight rather than accept these terms. This was the same position as the majority of the Bolshevik party, the other parties and possibly the majority of the population, certainly the majority within the threatened western areas. With only a few supporters Lenin signed the treaty and the Austrian and German armies occupied the Ukraine and much of Russia.

Trotsky did not want this situation. Between November 7th and January 5th he done everything possible to end the war. His diplomacy was

oper as he stated a real socialist government should not be concealed from the people Trotsky even invited the allied governments to take part in the peace negotiations so that the peace would be worldwide but they refused The German terms were impossible to accept and soon Trotsky became vociferously pro war. He now followed exactly the same path that Kerensky had taken. That is, from being an anti-war militant while out of power to being pro war after taking power - and willing to make alliances with non socialist powers.

Both Lenin and Trotsky were willing to align themselves with the allied, to accept military support and western officers to train the Red Army. Trotsky formally requested this but was rebuffed by the Allied High Command. Trotsky protested vigourously:"Just when we are on the verge of going to war the allied governments do everything they can to help the Germans."

Izvestia also reflected this way of thinking. Only America had known how to treat the Bolsheviks decently and it was the Allies themselves who, by disregarding the wishes of the Russian people were preventing the creation of pro ally policy. As late as June an allied-Bolshevik pact was still possible had not the Allied supported the Japanese annexation of parts of Siberia. The increasing numbers of allied troops on Russian soil, the refusal of the allied government to recognise the Bolsheviks, to treat them with respect, and the Allied support to counter revoluionary groups hardened the Bolsheviks attitude. By late June Trotsky was calling for war against the allied with as much enthusiasm as he had previously wanted to fight the central powers (11).

Another amazing transformation took place in Trotsky's political role. Until December 1917 he had been one of Europe's major figures in the anti militarist movement. Now he was forming a red army, enforcing conscription, working with the secret police, crushing left wing opponents. His enthusiasm for militarism went deep. He appointed his own officers, designed their uniforms and established military schools. Voline Arthur Ransome and Bruce Lochhart, who met Trotsky during this time all comment on his mercurial personality and how much he had changed.

Russia was also changing, not into the socialist paradise that the revolutionaries expected but into a waste land devastated by foreign invasion, civil war famine pestilence, chaos and terror. The German occupational army helped to put Russia on a downhill slide. They executed any Bolshevik they found (12). Yet Lenin tried to stay on good terms with the autocracy until the armistice

When the rapacious Germans left, the embittered western Russians were not keen to be ruled over by the government which they believed

had betrayed them. Apart from the ruling class and the priveleged sections of Russian society there were many ordinary people who were apprehensive or actively opposing the Bolsheviks. There were several reasons for this.

1. The Dispersal of the constituent assembly.

On November 7, 1917 Lenin stated:"Being a democratic government, we cannot ignore the decisions of the masses of people, even when they run counter to our own opinions...And even if the peasants follow in future the party of Social Revolutionists and give the party a majority in the Constituent Assembly, we shall say:'let it be so'(13)." The national elections for a Russian government were held in late 1917 against Lenin's wishes but he yielded to pressure from within the party. The Bolsheviks got 24% of the vote. The highest overall vote was in the Baltic Fleet where they averaged 56%. Kronstadt electorate gave Lenin 68% of the civilian and 80% of the naval votes. Even in Petrograd, the Bolshevik stronghold they got less than half the votes. The Social Revolutionaries were clear winners with 58% of the vote (14).

When the Constituent Assembly tried to meet it was dispersed on Lenin's orders by a detachment of Kronstadters led by an anarchist. Lenin's government was now widely considered a minority dictatorship, neither a parliamentary government based on a majority of votes nor an anarchist movement trying to achieve non statist libertarian society.

2. The Treatment of the peasantry and the suppression of dissenters and non Bolsheviks

The Bolshevik government quickly began to jail, exile or execute their political opponents, then their allies and then non politicals, even their own supporters and neutrals.

The middle class liberal party, the Constitutional Democrats (cadets as they were nicknamed) were first to go, being banned in late 1917. Suppression of the Social Revolutionaries began the next March after they disagreed with Lenin over the German Treaty. Suppression of the anarchists started quite mildly soon after the Bolshevik siezure of power. The anarcho-syndicalist newspaper "Golos Truda" had its offices continually sabotaged and its sellers harrassed (15). Then in April 1918 massive raids on anarchist centres occured on the pretext that anarchists had stolen an American official's car. Trotsky ordered and supervised these raids, even using artillery on suburban houses. Somewhere between eighteen and a hundred anarchists were killed or wounded and five hundred taken prisioners.

Trotsky stated that "At last the soviet government with an iron broom had rid Russia of Anarchism(16)", while some naive anarchists claimed that the Bolsheviks were like Cain turning on their brother Abel (17).

Voline gives a vivid picture of the sudden change that took place with old friends once they were in power. "In April 1917 I met Trotsky again. (We had known each other in Russia, and, later in France from which we were both expelled in 1916). We met in a print shop which specialized in printing the various publications of the Russian left. He was then editor of a daily Marxist paper Novy Mir (New World). As for me, I had been entrusted with editing the last numbers of Golos Truda (Voice of Labour), the weekly organ of the anarcho-syndicalist Union of Russian Workers, shortly before it was moved to Russia. I used to spend one night a week at the printshop while the paper was being prepared. That is how I happened to meet Trotsky on my first might there.

Naturally we spoke about the Revolution. Both of us were preparing to leave America in the near future to return home. In the course of our conversation I said to Trotsky:"Truly I am absolutely sure that you, the Marxists of the left will end up by seizing power in Russia. That is inevitable, because the Soviets, having been restored, will surely enter into conflict with the bourgeois government. The government will not be able to destroy them because all the workers of the country, both industrial workers and peasants, and also most of the army, will naturally put themselves on the side of the Soviets against the bourgeoisie and the government. And once the Soviets have the support of the people and the army, they will triumph in the struggle. And once they have won it will be you, the Marxists who will inevitably be carried into power. Because the workers are seeking the revolution in its most advanced form. The syndicalists and anarchists are too weak in Russia to attract the attention of the workers rapidly by their ideas. So the masses will put their confidence in you and you will become 'the masters of the country'. And then, look out anarchists! The conflict between you and us is unavoidable. You will begin to persecute us as soon as your power is consolidated. And you will finish by shooting us like partridges...

"Come, come, comrade", replied Trotsky. "You have a stubborn and incorrigible imagination. Do you think we are really divided? A mere question of method, which is quite secondary. Like us you are revolutionaries. Like you we are anarchists in the final analysis. The only difference is that you would like to establish your anarchism immedately without a preparatory transition, while we, the Marxists, do not believe it possible to 'leap' in one bound into the libertarian millenium. We anticipate a transitory epoch in the course of which the ground for an anarchist society will be cleared and ploughed with the help of anti-bourgeois political powers, the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by the proletarian party in power. In the end, it involves only a 'shade' of difference, nothing more. On the whole we are very close to one another. We are friends in arms. Remember now: we have a common enemy to fight. How can we think of fighting among ourselves. Moreover, I have

no doubt that you will be quickly convinced of the necessity of a temporary proletarian socialist dictatorship. I don't see any real reason for a war between you and us. We will surely march hand in hand. And then even if we don't agree, you are all wrong in supposing that we, the socialists, will use brutal force against the anarchists! Life itself and the judgement of the masses will resolve the problem and will put us in agreement. No! Can you really admit for a single instant such an absurdity: socialists in power shooting anarchists? Come, come, what do you take us for? Anyhow, we are socialists, comrade Voline! We are not your enemies..."

In December 1919, seriously ill, I was arrested by the Bolshevik military authorities in the Makhnovist region of the Ukraine. Considering me an important militant, the authorities advised Trotsky of my arrest by a special telegram and asked for his instructions concerning me. The reply, also by telegram, arrived quickly, clearly, laconically: "Shoot him immediately -Trotsky". I was not shot, thanks to a set of circumstances particularly fortunate and entirely fortuitous (New From Nowhere, Canada, 1973)."

Next to go were the Mensheviks, outlawed two months later. Finally the pacifist Tolstoyans were suppressed. Official soviet figures state that only 92 were executed for refusing conscription. Yet by 1923 this movement which had tens of thousands of followers in 1917 was wiped out.

The Cheka squads then started on the civilian population killing thousands of people for being doctors, engineers and the like. A leading Cheka chief instructed: "Don't seek for incriminating evidence as to whether the prisoners took part by deed or word in a rebellion against the soviet government. You have to ask him which class he belongs to, what is his origin, his education and profession. It is those questions that should decide the fate of the defendant and therein lies the meaning of red terror(18)."

The Cheka was also used to keep people from migrating or working whatever hours they chose and to enforce the sale of grain at fixed minimal prices. This meant the peasants would hide or burn their grain, the Cheka would kill and torture to find the grain, and the peasantry would start one of those hundreds of localized rebellions that characterized Russia in Lenin's era. If the city population had been allowed to go to the country side as they wanted and if the peasants had been allowed to sell their grain at a reasonable price the spontaneous peasant rebellions would not have occurred. However the Bolshevkis had their rules. Trotsky expressed it in a way that shows more clearly, than a million volumes could, the authoritarianism of his personality and the elitism of Bolshevism: "The working class cannot be left wandering all over Russia.

They must be thrown here and there, appointed, commanded just like soldiers (19).

By March 1918 the few rightists who immediately and actively opposed the Bolsheviks had been defeated. Lenin declared in his report on the Brest Litovsk Peace (March 7th 1918): "The forces of the people's enemies as compared to the revolutionary might of the proletariat proved to be rather insignificant. The Soviet Government has triumphed in the civil war." Trotsky states that at Kazan in mid 1918 the white army was made up nearly solely of officers and N.C.O.'s. Yet this bitter vicious civil war didn't end until December 1922.

It would be unfair to put the whole blame for the Civil War on Lenin. The whites were able to use petty nationalism, anti semitism and the self interest of the managerial, propertied and military classes and there was nothing the Bolsheviks or even the best revolutionary group could do about that. The narrow self interest and provincialism of the peasantry was another problem. The Bolshevik record here is uneven. Many Bolsheviks tried to win the peasantry over but many others saw them as inherently counter revolutionary or at least unequal partners with the city proletariat. Marx's ideas on peasantry were partly responsible for this problem but some peasants deliberately withheld grain from cities and sold it at extortionist rates. Their habits of trading were often to get as much for oneself as possible at whatever the cost to others or society. The forceable requisition of grain at gunpoint, usually for a disastrously low price or nothing at all may have been justified in some cases but the Red Army and Chekists soon made this a habit. Combined with all the other problems mentioned, it expanded the Civil War. Among the peasantry who fought the Bolsheviks were the Makhnovists, the Antonivites and the peasant movement which stressed independence, localism and socialism known as the Greens. Their socialism was primitive but, never the less, they fought for socialism, and against the right wing white guards. None of these movements had fought the Reds until they were attacked. The authoritarianism of Stalinist and post Stalinist Russia was established in the era of the civil war Russia but, as I have already pointed out, much of the support for the white guards came from alienated sections of the population who might have stayed neutral or supported the Bolsheviks if they had adopted different polices. Although the civil war lasted four years and eight months the last major white guard army fled Russia in November 1920.

For over two years the civil war continued against other leftists such as: The anarchist Makhnovist movement, the Left Social Revolutionary, Antonov movement, the Georgian Mensheviks and the Green. The latter were a rural based movement which while hazy on ideology stressed

dependence, hatred of government authority and equal distribution of land. All these movements were violently crushed with great losses of casualties and devastation on bothe sides.

The civil war, the red and white guard terrors, the epidemics, the famines of 1921-2 and 1924, and the concentration camps, killed between ten and twelve million people. About two million more went into exile. Of the survivors about four million were homeless orphans brutalized into savagery. Increasing numbers of ordinary survivors were going into the concentration camps that were being crammed full as soon as they were built. Between 1914 and 1938 Russia lost about a quarter of its population. Yet no Bolshevik leader saw the civil war as a tragedy to be avoided. Even after the event Lenin expressed no grief. He stated that if the entire plancet had to be exterminated so that the remaining ten survivors be communist he would do it. As for Russia in 1920 he boasted: " Introducing civil war into the rural districts is something which we think is to our credit(20)."

Much of the blame for what happened can be placed on Lenin. There is a great deal of evidence that he enjoyed what happened or at least did not see it as tragic. Rosa Luxemburg wrote of his "Mongolian Tartar cruelty. Betrand Russell, who interviewed Lenin in 1920, said: "when I first met Lenin I had much less impression of a great man than I had expected. My most vivid impressions were of bigotry and Mongolian cruelty. His guffaw at the thought of those massacred made my blood run cold (21)." Maxim Gorky who knew Lenin for sixteen years wrote: "He has no pity for the mass of people... The working classes are to Lenin what minerals are to the metallurgist (22)." One eminent socialist after another met Lenin and came to same adjectives. H. G. Wells, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Nestor Makhno, Angelica Balanoff all give a picture of a cold blooded, arrogant, bigoted supercilious dictator who ruled with shrewdness and an iron will.

Lenin defined socialism as he saw it: "Our task should be to learn from the Germans how to run state capitalism, by all means to copy it from them and not to spare dictatorial methods in order to accelerate these forces of taking over from the Germans, doing it at an even more rapid pace than the one followed by Peter the First in Westernizing barbarous Russia without stopping short before the most barbarous means of struggle against barbarity(23)."

What part did Trotsky play in establishing this dictatorship? It is commonly blieved now that Trotsky was the humane alternative to Stalin. Except for one mistake at Kronstadt in 1921, he is not guilty of any of the butcheries or authoritarianism that typify Stalin's era. How much difference was there between the two men in practice?

other, both stated that Shtchasny was executed by Trotsky's initiative. He was executed on May 22nd 1918. At that time the death penalty was illegal by soviet law. There had been only one witness for the prosecution - a certain L. Trotsky. Even within the Communist Party there was great indignation. Leading Kronstadt Bolshevik, Dybenko, bitterly attacked the Bolshevik leadership in public over this. He was threatened but it would be twenty years nearly to the day before he was shot after another faked show trial.

Eighteen years in the future Trotsky would be horrified at the Moscow Trials and executions. He would denounce them for their lack of justice for absurd allegations and circus like atmosphere. Socialists should not kill socialists.. (31).

Trotsky made a great show of keeping an eye out for aspiring military dictators within the Red Army. He once dismissed a young ensign for criticising him and because his name sounded like Bonaparte. (32). Yet he gave a free hand and rapid promotion to Tukhachevsky, an openly ambitious career officer who obsessively admired Napoleon and barbaric despotism His Nietzchean ideas on life as a vicious struggle where the fittest survived and ruled by virtue of strength and cunning, were combined with a love of war and militarism and anti semitic, anti socialist and anti Czarist Views. He was described as having the soul of Genghis Khan and he would have been flattered by the comparission(33). Lenin and Stalin were both worried about Tukhachevsky's ambitions but Trotsky gave him a free hand (34). In mid 1918 he joined Tuchachevsky in one of his rampages. He swept across Russia like Genghis Khan, a virtual plague that hit neutral, enemies and supporters alike. Of Trotsky's three most ruthless campaigns, Simbirsk, Kronstadt and the Makhnovists, Tukhachevsky was involved in two. Trotsky seemed to give way to his protege's bloody mindedness. At the end of August 1918 in revenge for the Bolshevik Terror, a Social Revolutionary, Dora Kaplan, severly wounded Lenin, her compatriots killed Mritsky, the sadistic head of the Petrograd Cheka and another prominent Bolshevik, Valdarsky. The Cheka unleashed an even stronger, wider and more savage terror.

On September 5th, the Council of Peoples Commissars issued the "Decree of the Red Terror", which had Trotsky's full support. In part it declared that it is necessary to rescue the Soviet Republic from its enemies by means of isolating them in concetration camps (35). However just as in Pol Pots' Kampuchea anyone who is in a concentation camp is a class enemy. The fact of punishment is proof of guilt. These forced labour camps were first decreed in January 1918, and mushroomed. A decree of May 1919 called for forced labour camps with a capacity of not less than 300 prisoners in every provincial centre. By the end of 1921 there were 132 forced labour camps with a population of 40,913; 267 prisons held 73,000 other prisoners. More prisoners were held in various

detention centres. Far from being class enemies most of the prisoners were ordinary workers and peasants. Illiteracy in the prisons was at 80% an odd figure for well educated upper class and middle class types (36).

Already in these camps tens of thousands had died of overwork, torture, malnutrition, suicide and execution, and this was while Stalin was a little known party figure. A conservative estimate for the Cheka caused deaths in the Lenin -Trotsky Civil War era is not less than 500, 000. The highest estimates for 1917 -1923 are one and a half million deliberate executions.

Across Russia tens of thousands who had nothing to do with the S. R.'s who had never heard of Dora Kaplan were murdered. Left wingers, neutrals, women, children, prisoners, hostages already in custody, all of them got a bullet in the head or a sentence in the slave labour camps. Figures are inaccurate but the Cheka always understated. Nearly 150, 000 for this particular purge alone would seem to be closer to the truth (37).

What was the Cheka? The Cheka were recruted from the scum of Russia as the Cheka's chief Dzerzhinsky honestly stated: drug addicts, rapists, sadists or ex-Okhrana making good with the new regime. Victims were selected often because chekists wanted their wives or their possessions or because they enjoyed killing. They only restrained from killing communist party members or personal friends of people in the hierarchy (38).

Tukhachevsky and Trotsky were proposing their own contribution to avenging Lenin: the capture and destruction of Simbirsk -Lenin's hometown. This would be one of the most savage atrocities committed by either side in the Civil War. Simbirsk was a large city occupied by a white army. Its civilian population, like most Russians, wanted to be left in peace by both sides and to see the war end. Tukhachevsky captured Simbirsk and allowed his troops three days of licence. Lenin's home was one of the few buildings not destroyed and unplundered. Almost all the city's population were raped, injured or killed in a rampage of mindless destruction. How many died will never be known. Tukhachevsky himself finished the slaughter by executing 100 of his own men to mark the end of the pillage. "The taking of your natal town (hometown) revenges your first wound, That of Samara will revenge your second (39)". Lenin replied to Tukhachevsky's superior, Trotsky, giving the credit for the Simbirsk massacre: (Copy Most Secret Telegram fromMoscow 12 IX 1918) To Kazan or Svijuzsk- Trotsky I compliment you on the taking of Simbirsk. In my opinion the maximum effort must be exerted towards expediting the cleaning up of Siberia. Do not be niggardly with monetary rewares (looting?). Report back by telegraph whether the objects of value have been rescued in Kazan (A white guard treasure of

gold, bonds, rubles and platinium worth well over 110 million rubles) and how much of it. I shall be starting to resume work tomorrow already (40)."

The Cheka squads usually worked with and within the army, under Trotsky's command. Even more directly controlled by him were the punitive expeditions: special committees and government organizations. In Tambov province in 1919 the punitive expeditions swept through the peasant villages. There were thousands of the usual executions, tortues that left the victims insane, public whippings, soviet delegates executed, numerous rapes, whole villages destroyed by artilery, peasants maimed and crippled and thousands of prisoners shot. In the village of Morshansk, the Red Army soldiers buried eitht wounded peasants alive. Trotsky's deliberate policy of terror was beyond exaggeration.

In June 1919 Trotsky turned his attention to the Ukraine. The Germans had left eight months before, now the area was in a confused several sided civil war. The anarchists and the Bolsheviks together were fighting the right wing nationalists, the white guards and the anti-Simitic bandit gangs. The anarchists and the Bolsheviks had been working together since the February revolution, they had been fighting against the nationalits side by side since January 1918. Five months after that, Makhno, their elected military commander, had conferred with Lenin and worked out a strategy for soviet victory in the Ukraine (41).

The Makhnovists had followed the idea of "all power to the soviets" collectivizing the landlords estated, abolishing rents, setting up schools and theatres. Like the Red Army, Makhno and the anarchists, had steady campaigns against anti-Semitism, banditry and illiteracy. When Kamenev visited the Makhnovist areas just before Trotsky's visit he was warmly welcomed. Despite disagreements on state power Kamenev praised them: "All rumours of separatist or anti-soviet plans on the part of the brigade and its commander Makhno are baseless. I saw in Makhno an honest and brave fighter who is fighting the whites and foreign conquerors under difficult conditions". On leaving, he stated that the Bolsheviks would always work with them.

Basically a peasant movement, the Makhnovists had some influence in the cities where they encouraged the workers to collectivize industries and to fight the rightists. The Makhnovist communes were voluntary. Without repayment they were sending food to the starving populations of Moscow and Petrograd. One of the communes was even named after the German Marxist Rosa Luxemburg, a friend of Trotsky's, who had recently had been murdered by rightists (42).

Who then did Trotsky's army attack when they arrived in the Ukraine? The dangerous army of Denikin approaching Moscow from the south? The anti-semitic bandits who ravaged the Ukraine and made the supplying of

food to the cities so difficult? The right wing nationalists who wanted to form a proto fascist state that would menace soviet Russia? None of these were the main enemy. Trotsky gave his reasons for attacking the anarchists: "It were better to permit the Whites to remain in the Ukraine than to support Makhno. The presence of the Whites would influence the Ukrainian peasantry in favour of the Soviet Government, whereas Makhno and his troops would never make peace with the Bolsheviks; they would attempt to possess themselves of some territory and to practice their ideas which would be a constant menace to the Communist Government(43)"

Makhno knew that one of the reasons Trotsky had given for suppressing the Makhnovists was that the movement was based on a man rather than the aim of a socialist society. He also believed Trotsky's personal animosity to him was involved. In an attept to re-unite the movements Makhno resigned his command and called for unity, asking his army to go temporarily under the Bolshevik command(44).

With the Red Army occupied fighting the Makhnovists, Denikin saw his chance and advanced toward Moscow capturing Kharkov and Ekaterinoslav on the way(45). The reds evacuated the Ukraine and the Makhnovists were left alone to defeat Denikin. Yet by seizing his supplies at the battle of Volnovkha and by continually attacking Denikin's supply lines, defeating the Whites at the Battle of Peregonovka, the Makhnovists had made sure that Denikin's army did not capture Moscow in December 1919. Trotsky repaid this vital aid by re-invading the Makhnovist Ukraine in November 1920. This was after the third treaty between them had been signed since January 1918. The Makhnovists had little choice in this, not to sign would have brought them into conflict with Trotsky before they were ready. The betrayal happened sooner than they expected. Yet, they knew what was coming. As soon as the last white army was defeated, the reds turned on them. Lenin gave the go ahead signal.

November 1920: Lenin to Rakovsky: "keep a close watch on all anarchists and prepare documents of criminal nature as soon as possible, on the basis of which charges can be laid against them. Orders and documents to be kept secret. Send out the necessary instruction (46). "The suppression occured on a large scale. During these months thousands of Makhnovist peasants were killed or sent to the slave labour camps, there were the civilian casualties in one period, the total Makhnovists casualties would be ten times higher, between 200.000 and 300,000 dead, thousands of others taken to the camps (47).

As late as the 1940's anyone known to be associated with the Makhnovists was carted off to execution or to a life sentence in the slave labour camps. Yet even former white guards were pardoned in the amnesty of the 1920's (48).

The Makhnovists fought on until with less than 3,000 cavalry they were surrounded by over 150,000 troops of the Red Army. Miraculously Makhno and 250 others survived the struggle to fight their way out.

The Makhnovist movement was one of the largest and most politically advanced peasant movements but there was at least one other that was roughly comparable to it. This was the Antonov movement located in Tambrov province between 1918-1922. There were essential differences however.

Although instinctively libertarian, this movement, smaller than the Makhnovists (numbering an estimated 200,000 to maybe 300,000)was not as clear in its politics as the Makhnovists. Nominally they were left social revolutionaries but their practice desagreed with their party practice. The Antonovists ideology (such as it was) seemed to be support for the Kronstadt's Petropavlovsk resolution in 1921. A copy of this resolution was found enshrined in a local church flanked by Antonov banners. Statements by Antonov and his brother are similar to the ideas that came from Kronstadt and the two movements supported each other. Makhno tried to link up with Antonov but failed.

The Makhnovists had more advanced aims such as education, industrial collectivism etc. The Antonov movement isolated in central Russia and without any aid from intellectuals or influence from Western Europe remained at a fairly basic level of political development. Antonov himself was a former convict(there is no evidence that he was ever a schoolteacher as he is usually described). Almost all his followers were peasants. Like the Makhnovists this movement unfortunately had elements of personality cult such as "follow the leader" and taking an individualist name in their title.

All of these revolutionaries were wiped out in the repressions that began in earnest in 1920 and ended in late 1922, a few months after Antonov's death in an ambush. It is hard to say to what extent Trotsky was directly involved in this. He seems to have set things up, put them in motion then left the dirty work to an underlings. This time it was Tukhachevsky and Antonov-Ovensenko.

Antonov and Makhno were alike in many ways, Both became politicized in the 1905 revolution. Both were political bandits after 1905 and both received jail sentences that did not end until they were released by the 1917 revolution. Both were great military commanders Both had cliques of war chiefs around them. Makhno was the better educated, the more politically advanced and better military commander. Both Makhnovists and Antonivists hated the whites more than the reds, were not antisemitic like most peasant movements and wanted to see an end to landlordism and government interference in village life. Both movements had

the support of the few workers that were in their areas but were predominantly based on the poor peasantry. They were both wiped out with the usual brutality.

Between 5,000 and 17,000 Antonovists were killed in battle. According to incomplete soviet figures 32,501 were sent to camps or executed between 28th May and 26th July 1921 alone. In an earlier stage from the 15th August to 15th October, 7,507 were dealt with. In five known incidents a total of 317 hostages were killed with Trotsky's knowledge (50). Many of these were not involved or related to anyone involved with the Antonov movement. Whole villages were destroyed and their population exiled. A social revolutionary source hostile to the Bolsheviks stated that between 80,000 and 100,000 families were exiled before July 8, 1921 and the movement was not completely wiped out until June 1922 when Antonov and his brother were killed in ambush by a group of cheka gunmen and his former followers out to prove their loyalty to the Bolsheviks.

After Antonov, there were only a few scattered warhands left in Eastern and Southern Russia. By the end of 1922 they no longer existed. The Japanese, the last foreign troops on Russian soil, evacuated their annexations in Siberia. With the war over the promised liberalisation could begin, people thought.

Trotsky was seemingly at the peak of his career at this time but already the methods he had used to destroy the anarchists and dissident socialist movements were being prepared to be used against him by his only surviving enemies- the majority of the Bolshevik hierarchy and Stalin in particular.

G. Hill

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UTOPIA, The 1984 and Us

What is utopia? Is it an ideal which remains practically impossible, a desired but unpractical situation; a political and economic order projected into the realm of a paradise lost; an organizational myth of social reality hidden in the meanders of history or postponed to the end of it? Is it a longing for innocence or a wish to enter the womb of the mother; is it a tendency to recuperate the golden age or a search for rational perfection when people are reduced to rational numbers and the world consists of harmonized units? Or is it an ignored, suppressed and unstated reality trying to assert itself? All these questions may have different answers. For some it may be a dream, wishful thinking, illusion or a delusion while for others, the primal mover, a tool and a vehicle of changes leading to realization of the ideal.

For Martin Buber utopia is "the image of the desire" which implies clarity of perceptions opening the door to a libertarian vision. For Saint Simon it is not a golden age to be discovered in the ruins of ancient civilizations but in an age to be reached and materialized in the future. In simple terms Utopia is a search to solve socio-economic and personal problems.

In Sebastian Munster's "Cosmography" it is an island where people live without authority. Justice and injustice are unknown. People have no authoritarian upbringing because parents do not dominate sons and daughters and sexual relationships are free. In Campanella's The City of the Sun work is reduced to 4 hours. For Morelly, every citizen has to contribute to the common welbeing according to his possibility, talent and age. Joseph Dejaques precludes family and legal property. They are dead institutions. Work and love are free and Anarchy means the sanity of the multitudes. For William Moris the government is a tool of tyranny and therefore has to be abolished. The enumeration can continue ad infinitum. Personally I am in agreement with Dejaques that utopia "is a dream not realized but not unrealizable". Yet, for the contemporary it is dream that has turned into a nightmare. Thus one may argue that some utopias are optimistic while other are pesimistic.

On the other side, Marie Louise Berneri argues that the most utopias are authoritarian because, despite of the language of individual freedom and welbeing, the individual play a limited role in the planning and organization of his life. Some others would argue that all utopias, by virtue of being utopias, are authoritarian because they organize the life for the people and not the people their lives. This view pertains to people who

commit themselves to freedom while refusing to acknowledge its social implications. For them any organizational activity is futile and authoritarian while they fail to see their inbuilt authoritarianism. Perhaps our vital sap is authoritarian and any effort to transcend it ends in futility. May be, like the mythological Sisyphus, we can reach the summit, to perceive new horizons and be inspired by freedom but due to our psychological structure engineered by our parents, social oppression, guilts and fears we roll back to the abyss of our authoritarian beginning.

Somehow despite their authoritarian streaks the utopias of the past were optimistic. There was always hopes that a day will come when we be able to opt out of this miserable, oppressive and slavish predicaments and be able to realize our longings and dreams, and achieve our liberation. The last optimistic utopia, the synthesis of all previous utopias, Socialism, was not only the most promising but it had become the battle cry of the oppressed, of the downthrodden, of the slaves and the proletariat. They saw in it the end of history, history as a class divisions, as masters and slaves, as rich and poor. Socialism for the wretched of the earth was the beginning of the dawn of equality. What a wonderfull dream!! Unfortunately, with socialism, utopia ended. Socialism became the graveyard of all hopes for the pariahs.

It was Marx who, with dialectical materialism put Hegel upside down. He did exactly the same service to socialism. With Marx, socialism left the realm of utopia and became scientific. Now socialism stands on its feet, it is no longer in the sky. Those who do not follow Marxist line, as the anarchists do, are relegated to utopia which is primitive, peasant, unscientific world view. The anarchists are petty bourgeois while the Marxists, by anti-thesis, are the big bourgeois, defenders of state industrial society. Judge it not by its essence but by its existential import. Marxism is a science of the industrial capitalism, prophilactics for political power and an expression of class antagonism. The Russian Revolution is its paradigm case. With it, it entered the historical arena to become socialist anti-history. A history of a new aggressive intellectual-bureaucratic class, of apparatchiks and technocrats, generally referred to as the Red Bourgoisie.

Genuine socialist tendencies, socialist praxis and socialist thoughts were either eliminated or suppressed, and socialist utopia was dealt a mortal blow. Classless society meant Taylorism, Stakhanovism, Stalinism, Militariam, nuclear power plus imperialism. What was left of socialism was a label behind which lurked the worst historical features of oppression of workers and peasants.

In this ominious atmosphere the Utopia of no hopes was born. As Orwell put it: "The earthly paradise has been discredited at exactly the moment when it became realizable". Socialism failed! The meek and

the docile were exalted, the rebels slaughtered. God was re-enstated but this time as the General Secretary of the Party, powerful and merciless. Scientists extolled him as the most rational being on this sinful earth, a paragone of all virtues. Poets had sung dythyrambs. Crowds had cheered on "Hosanna" to the atheistic pope while the blood of the innocent was shed to satiate his thirst for power. With entering into reality the Marxists-Lenininists turned the socialist utopia into its opposite, the anti-utopia. It precluded all freedoms, justice, classless society, proletarian equality and socialism itself. Socialism became a dinstant possibility, if not impossibility. It cricified its own utopia without a hope of resurrection.

Since socialism became a science its utopian contents had been under constant attack and had eroded significantly. But it was not until its inception in the pragmatical reality that scientific socialism had exhibited its real nature. Instead elucidating matters related to socialism and socialist relationships, it erected itself into a dogma, that even the catholics would envy. The function of the scientific socialism was not to serve humanity and the emergence of the new socialist person but to make sure that the individual would be subservient to socialism and, if not, to alter his behaviour to fit the new scientific dogma . All other approaches to socialist reality were frown upon as utopian, reformist, revisionists, deviationist, petty bourgeois and so on.

Scientific socialism is a parody of genuine socialism because it lacks an ethical approach towards life, if not in theory at least in praxis. Also it represents the ideology of thechnocracy. It molests the individual beyond recognition, it frowns upon freedom as a bourgeois concept, it accepts slavery as virtue and rewards it accordingly. It makes exploitation a means to socialist wealth and walls the essence of existence. In the best it is pepsy cola and coka cola plus slavery, plus electrification, plus militarism and plus bombs. One can add as many pluses as possible because scientific socialism is a positive and not a negative number. It was this bourgeois diversification, labeled "socialism" that lead Orwell to very pesimistic conclusions: "Every new political theory, by whatever name it is called itself, led back to hierarchy and regimentation(164)." or "no reform or revolution has ever brought human equality a millimetre nearer. From the point of view of the low, no historic change has ever meant much more that a change in the name of their masters(162)." or "in each variant of Socialism that appeared from about 1900 onward the aim of establishing liberty and equality was more and more openly abandoned (163)." This pessimistic prophecy is supported by the tactics of many national liberation fronts of today for which human life is a cheap vehicle to achieve power and privileges. "The new movements... had the conscious aim of perpetuating unfreedom and inequality(165)."

On the other side, the socialist utopia-anarchism, the only hope of the oppressed had to be sacrificed to the altar of the authoritarian socialism. Not a voluntary sacrifice, not a sacrifice induced by logic or logical induction but committed by surgical operation by the new scientific clergy, for whom irrational numbers and primitive sentimentality are intolerable. This caste of scientists instead of raising the consciousness of the proletariat guillotinized it for the greatest glory of the One and Indivisible Big Brother. A bunch of biologists, such as Michurin and Lisenco, Cerberuses of the Scientific Socialis Edifice, in co-operation of the force of thought police had worked overtime to reduce the proletariat to Pavlov's dogs so that the latter can aquire true scientific spirit. Those who had failed to see the light or happened to hold a heretical view, were to pass through the corridors of the Ministry of Love, to be re-educated, evaporated or reduce to non-entities. Thanks to the most generous love, the big brother is capable of, the camp of re-education and gulags were established everywhere to control all aberrations effectively. This facilitated the eradication of the socialist utopia, anarchism, and assured the proliferation of scientific socialism.

In such a climate the first Utopia of no hopes, or more precisely the anti-utopia We by Zamyatin was born. Zamyatin, a child of his time, percieved clearly the process which the Russian society had been undergoing in the name of socialism and the proletariat. He also foresaw the logical conclusion the socialism of priestly scientists, sychophants and admirers of the One State, of the Big Brother, of the One Party was leading to: to empty socialism of its utopian content, to destroy its fighting spirit, to close all avenues for human redemption and prevent, by any means, the effectuation of socialist utopia; the classless, egalitarian and free society.

George Orwell, using Zamyatin novel and his personal experience in Spain, realized that such a socialism had left no hopes for the proletariat. In his book The Ninety Eighty Four, oppression, alienation, regimentation and subservience are perceived as nightmares while society turns into totalitarianism. The Individual is completely controlled. He is a number and statistic, material in the hands of the Big Brother. Such outspoken pessimism is not accepted by those who like to see or who believe that there are hopes. They claim that Orwell's utopia failed to materialize and, as evidence, they point to Moscow, as the capital of Oceania, to falsify Orwell's prognoses. Nonetheless, the relevance of Orwell's predictions in his satire or, if you like, his pessimistic utopia, are haunting us.

It is misleading to look at the Soviet Union as a paradigm case of Orwell's anti-utopia. Generally, militarization of society continues with gigantic steps, science is in the service of death and destruction, the weapons the Big Brothers are piling are beyond human imagination. Com-

puters are substituting Orwell's T. V. screens. The space of individual movements is decreasing, hate and nationalism are increasing and one has to play the violine of nationalism, without any hate week, to establish quasi new totalitarian regeme.

Orwell took the Soviet Communism as a starting point of his novel, because for the first time in history it re-enacted the drama of the oppression of the proles in the name of the proles and their liberation. At the time, and even later on, anyone whose heart was in its right place, whose brain was functioning properly, in socialistic sense, and not clouded by vague generalizations could not failed to perceive the metamorphosis the Soviet society was undergoing. Socialist utopia was transmuting into its anti-thesis, the anti-utopia; its socialist praxis into scientific, pragmatic barbaric exploitation while preserving egalitarian revolutionary phraseology. The new blood thirsty scientific bureaucracy to preserve its power, elitism and privileges, and to establish the kingdom of scientific reign precluded revolutionary dreams and egalitarianism. Human sentiments, the earning for justice and freedom were declared bourgeois vestiges while the masses were extolled because they were the building material of the One Big State, the pinnacle of scientific socialist thought. Thus the end of utopia marked the beginning of the socialist decadence, the rebirth of the class society, the growth of bureaucratic gangrene, forging chains around the individual and reducing him to an abject emotional and mental poverty, turning labour to cheap commodity and making socialism an ornament of the throne of the Big Brother. But this trend was not confine to the Soviet Union only. It transcended its boundaries, was incorporated in fascism and nazism and slowly began to erode what was left of the democratic institutions.

The antagonism among the Big Brothers, the permanent threats of war, the proliferation of weapons and acute unemployment has kept the proles in line and society at bay. Fear had become a predominant feature of social activities and people withdrew to the castle of the personal or weird cults, alienated and bitter, ignoring the outside world.

Therefore, while the Ninety Eighty Four describes and satirizes authoritarian communism, by no means, it is a defender of the western style decadency which prevent utopia from becoming an operative force and seriously hinders a genuine analysis of the West anti-utopian society. Orwell writing is ominous of the West too.

Memory is a crime and need be effaced because it is a history of accumulated knowledge and past experieces, which if used properly provides 1) a better understanding of the present and 2) forges the tool for an objective social analysis which may undermine the preposterous claim of the One Big State and its government. If the Soviet Union is falsifying history to manipulate the memory of the people so is the West. "For many Americans, the Vietnam experience challenged familiar precepts about

accompanied by insecurity and frustrations, kindles authoritarianism, nationalism racialism, fascism and state communism which are negation of economic equality, workers' identity and individual freedom.

On psychological level, the personal crises are exult in strong group identity which is a defence mechanism for lack and negation of identity. The binding force of this kind of group is often aggression and hate, neither of which will lead to personal self-realization and liberation. On the contrary, the person becomes a tool in favour of the big brother strengthening his domination over his subjects. "Our civilization is founded upon hatred. We have cut the links between child and parent and between man and man, man and woman(214)."

On the other side, the sexual revolution that has been greeted enthusiastically as a prerequisite for the liberation of the sexes and as a necessary condition for personal liberation and achieving of meaningful relationships has bogged down in hate and antagonism. Men and women were stripped off from their human qualities and viewed as pure economic units locked in an inexaustible struggle against each other, which precludes human intercourse, impoverishes the individual and prevents the unity of being be realized. This kind of antagonism is to the advantage of the Big Brother. "The sexual act, successfully performed, was rebellion. Desire was thought crime (58)." "Sexual privation induced hysteria, which was desirable because it could be transformed into war-fever and and leader worship (104)." Hence normal sexuality in Reichian sense belongs to primitive soceities. The efforts of the Big Brother is to prevent it from disturbing his social order. As A. Comfort points our: "The essential physical conditions for sexual normality are leisure, privacy, security, community and responsibility, the elements which every contemporary state by its whole orientation is bound to deny, and the denial is no longer confined to its proletariat (3)."

Certainly this kind of approach can be dismissed as being out of date. But a modern look at sexuality where sex and feelings are separated, where escapism is masquerades as liberation and regression as progress, vindicate foregoing statements. "The progressive ideology of 'non binding Commitments' and 'cool sex' makes a virtue of emotional disengagement, while purpoting to criticise the depersonalization of sex (4)." Therefore, the emotional, intellectual and sexual impoverishments, the lack of communication and communality and the depersonalization of sex accentuate the already existing alienation among human beings who are thus easily incorporated in the dominant ideology, and who are ready to give full support to one or other kind of a Big Brother. The Faukland war was a good example of a war hysteria and national glorification, not to mention phenomenon like Khomeni .

Thus the claims of the champions of the Western ideological camp that The Ninety Eighty Four applies to totalitarian regimes in general and the Soviet or Communist camp in particular are misrepresentations. A look at our backyard is a sufficent refutation of it. We have ASIO known and unknown special and subspecial branches whose function is to spy over the citizens trying to ditect a real or imaginery subversive streak, to localize and prevent its spreading. This is a control and it creates fear psychosis. Its aims are to subdue and scare the citizen. Also, we have ASIS, SAS and many other anti-terrorist squads to beautify the scenery of our State and asure the peaceful existence of the Big Brother who may change in appearance but remains always the same. If this is extended to the West in general, the picture becomes rather grim: militarism, paramilitarism, military concentrations, centralization, industrial restructuring which, for profit sake, makes the worker dysfunctional to production and increases the army of the unemployment, taylorizes happiness, dependency syndrome, conflicts, instability, uncertainty, installing fear that paralyses any possible initiative and so on. The Big Brother is stronger and more powerful now than ever.

Despite all, The Ninety Eighty Four is neither prophesy nor a utopia. It is a novel which, taking the authoritarian Marxists-Leninist communism as a model, describes its degeneration and bankruptcy, and warns against totalitarianism that has already devastated Europe and is spreading all over the world. It is an attack on state socialism that coerces the individual into subordination and reduces the proles to a state of servitude, kills social intercourse and promotes a radical capillary control; uses revolutionary hopes as a tool of domination; manipulates the press, distorts public perceptions of truth; uses language that baffles rather than informs and reducess personal involvement into a meaningless status.

The Ninety Eighty Four is here. "Everywhere the spread of television, computers and allied technologies has brought into being technique of communication, persuasion and mental conditioning that were merely foreseeable when Orwell was alive... while the coming of the welfare state has led, on the negative side, to the creation of vast bureaucratic machines that have people tabled and numbered as never before. Even without dictatorships, the process of creeping registration and regimentation has made people increasingly passive in their reactions to the pretentions of the state...'War is Peace,' 'Freedom is Slavery' and 'Ignorance is Strength'.' I did not realize just how far we have advanced into doublethink and progressed toward Newspeak until I heard that President Reagan had named the MX missile the Peacemeker!(5)"

the failure o state ommunism

Kronstadt uprising as a "Whites" affair, planned carefully and lengthily by counter revolutionary elements in exile. This notorious and wilful distortion of facts was circulated in the international communist press and had also found access in circles which were in no way sympathetic to Bolshevik ideas.

Today we are in a position to judge the real causes and authentic character of this event and to come to realize that the Kronstadt sailors were as much counter-revolutionary as the Anarchists and Makhnovists.

The New Road, an acknowledged Bolshevik newspaper in Riga unwisely had revealed the true features of the Kronstadt uprising (it appeared the editorial staff had not received the necessary instruction

in time). The article appeared on the 19th of March 1921; 'The Kronstadt sailors are in the majority anarchists. They are not on the right but on the left of the communists. In their radio messages they have not proclaimed "Long Live the National Assembly'. Why have they rebelled against the Soviet Government? Because they have not found it sufficiently soviet. They have inscribed on their banner half anarchist and half-communist slogans which the Bolsheviks themselves have had proclaimed three and a half years ago, at the morrow of the October Revolution, In their struggle against the Soviet Government the Kronstadt insurgents of different occasions have shown their deep hatred of the bourgeoisie and all that has been bourgeois. They have stated that the Soviet Government is becoming bourgeoisified, that Zinoviev has become stubborn. This is a rebellion of the left not of the right."

The views expressed in the Bolshevik journal The New Road on the Kronstadt uprising were lately confirmed. All documents and all statements of the rebels were a proof of it; there was not a single word suggesting a counter revolutionary trend, The movement as a whole was spontaneous in character and had ensued from local conditions.

The Kronstadt sailors were the most energetic and dedicated elements of the Russian revolutionary movement. They had already played an important role in 1905 and when the 1917 revolution had broken out, they were the first to act on the revolutionary scene. They proclaimed the Kronstadt Commune while Kerensky was in power and fought the idea of the National Assembly which they perceived as a danger to the revolution. The beginning of the October insurrection which brought the Bolsheviks to power, found the Kronstadters at the forefront of the revolutionary movement with their slogan: All power to the Soviets!

During the bloody fight against Yudenich the sailors were the revolutionary safeguard against which all counter-revolutionary attempts had failed. And when the Government in Moscow tried to reduce the initial conquests of the soviets, the anarchist concepts of the sailors forced them to defend the independence of the soviets. Trotsky's attempts to impose on the sailors the same rules as the army were unsuccessful, and as far as he had to concentrate all his forces against the counter-revolutionary armies, he had but to accept this state of affairs willy-nilly. Nonetheless, attempts of such kind had not contributed to the sailors being favourable to the government and when, soon after the war ended, they were vigorously renewed they were highly mistrusted by the sailors.

In February 1921, due to a new classification in distribution of food, serious disturbances erupted in Petrograd and the workers went on strike. Many were thrown into gaol and this made the atmosphere more intolerable.

At this point the sailors sent a delegation to Petrograd to study the situation on the spot and to adopt, if possible, some common action.

A Unanimous Resolution of Kronstadt.

On the first of May a public meeting of the crew took place to hear the delegate's reports and unanimously adopted the following resolution: After having heard the reports of the delegates sent to Petrograd by the general meeting of the crews, the assembly decided to put forward and defend the following demands:

1. Seeing that the present Soviets do not express the will of the workers and peasants, it is necessary to proceed immediately to the re-election of the Soviets by secret ballot, the electoral campaign among the workers and peasants to be carried on with full freedom of speech and action.
2. Freedom of assembly to the unions and peasants organizations.
3. Freedom of speech and press for the workers and peasants and Left Social Revolutionaries.
4. To convoke, outside of the political parties, a Conference of the workers, Red Soldiers and sailors of Petrograd, Kronstadt and the Petrograd province for March 10th 1921 at the latest.
5. Freedom to all socialist political prisoners and also all workers, peasants, Red Soldiers and sailors, imprisoned as a result of the workers' and peasants' movements.
6. Election of a commission for the purpose of examining the cases of those who are in prison or concentration camps.
7. Suppression of all "political offices", since no political party should have privileges for propagating its ideas or receive money from the state for this purpose (the question here is of the special organization to which only members of the C.P. belong), and to replace them with educational and cultural commissions elected in each locality and financed by the government.
8. Immediate suppression of all barriers (this refers to the military units stationed at railways and roads to prevent food supplies which were not bought or sold by the state).
9. To make uniform the rations of all workers, except for those who are engaged in occupations dangerous to their health.
10. Suppression of all Communist shock troops in the army's units and the communist guards in the factories; in case of need, guard detachments could be supplied in the army by the companies, in the factories by the workers.
11. Full freedom to the peasants to dispose of their grain and the right to possess cattle as long as they do not hire help.
12. We ask all units of the army and the comrades of the military school to join our movement.
13. We demand that our resolution be widely publicised.

[illegible] [illegible]

" Free exercise of handicrafts provided no hired help is used.

The foregoing resolution was presented to the Kronstadt's citizen assembly at which 16,000 persons were presented, and was unanimously adopted. On the second of May, the delegates of the sailors military units, factories and unions (around 300)met to nominate a "provisional revolutionary committee" to prepare the election of the Soviet. They published daily informations in Izvestia, giving account of the different phases of the movement. Our Russian comrade Isidin has given in the Parisien The New Times extracts from the Knonstadt Izvestia which are eloquent witnesses of the spirit and the character of this movement so contemptibly vilified. Thus we can read in the article What we fight for, the following

" The patience of the workers is exhausted. Here and there has already appeared the first signs of resistence against a regime of oppression and violence. The workers have gone on strike but the vigilant Bolshevik gendarmes have taken all necessary measures to strangle the inevitable beginning of the third revolution. Nontheless it has arrived and it is the workers themselves who have made it. Here, in Kronstadt, the foundation stone of the third revolution which will open vast possibilities for realization of socialism, has been laid down. This revolution will show the labouring masses of East and West, that what is taking place here has absolutely nothing to do with socialism.

"The workers and the peasants are marching forward leaving behind themselves the Constituent Assembly with its bourgeois regime as well as the Communist Party's dictatorship, its Cheka and State capitalism which, like the rope of the hangman, are strangling the working people.

"The present revolution gives the workers the chance to elect their soviets freely, without pressure of any party, and also to transform bureaucratic trade-unions into free associations of manual and intellectual workers.

Phases of the Revolution

In the article The Phases of the Revolution, March 12, was stated "The Communist Party which has acted in the name of the workers and the peasants has taken power by defeating the latter. A new slavery called communism, has appeared. The peasant is becoming a serf, the worker - a wage slave of the state factory, the intellectual worker is reduced to state of nothingness The time has arrived to reverse the commissarocracy. The vigilant guardian of the revolution is not asleep Kronstadt, which in March and in October was in the head of the movement is the first to rise the flag of revolt for the third revolution the workers' revolution. The authocracy collapsed The Constituent Assem-

bly belongs to the past. The commissarocracy is also going to collapse. Time has come for real workers' power, the power of the Soviets!"

The Soviet Government's accusation that white generals and popes are heading the movement was vehimently denied by Kronstadters. In The Appeal to the Red Workers, Sailors and Soldiers in Izvestia, March 13th, they had said: "On the 2nd of March, here, in Kronstadt, we rebelled against the abominable Communist yoke and unfurled the red flag of the third revolution.

"Red soldiers, sailors and workers, the revolutionary Kronstadt appeals to you! We know that they have deceived you, that they have hidden from you the truth of what is happening here. They hide the fact that we are ready to risk our life for the sacred cause of the workers and peasants' liberation. They try to convince you that white generals and popes are heading the revolutionary committee. To put an end to such lies, here are the names of our revolutionary committee: Petrishenko -office worker in the battle ship Petropavlovsk; Yakovenko-telephone operator in Kronstadt; Ossosov -machinist, battle ship Sevastopol; Perepelkin-electricia, Sebastopol; Arkhipov-first machinist; Patruchev-first electrician, Petropavlovsk; Kupolov, assistant doctor; Verchinin, sailor, Sebastopol. Romanenko, in charge of the ship building yard; Orechine, supervisor in the 3rd Trade school; Pavlov, supply worker; Baikov, in charge of the rolling stock in the fortress; Valk, employee in a saw-mill; Kilgast, a pilot."

In the same issue there was a touching appeal to the proletariat of the world: "For twelve days, cut from the rest of the world, a fist of workers, sailors and soldiers of the Red Army are under attack by the communist butchers. We will remain faithful to the cause which we have made ours: liberation of the people from the yoke imposed upon them by the fanaticism of a party and we will die shouting: 'Long live the Soviets, freely elected! ' Let it be known by world proletariat! Comrades, we need your moral help: protest against the violent acts of the communist autocrats!"

The last appeal of the Kronstadt's rebellion, before the threatening death, remained a cry in the desert: nobody understood them. Nobody grasped the great cause for which they had put their lives at stake. Hardly anyone was aware that a dehumanized army would massacre them by thoudands as happened to the men and women of the Paris Commune by the brutalized forces of Gallifet. Yet, while the communards found a place in the heart of the great world proletariat, those whose blood had run on the pavements of Kronstadt were declared traitors and counter-revolutionary by their own class. They were judged without their cause being known and their last calls understood. They had fought

for a cause which had have been that of their butchers. The words that the Kronstadt rebels inscribed on their banners were the same used by the Bolsheviks praparing the October Revolution of 1917 and topling down the government of Kerensky. Who could then dreamt that only a few years later the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would oppose the ideas which had been used as standard-bearers by the future dictators in their struggle for conquest of political power! Even if today this bloody satire of history has been hardly understood the time will come its deep significance will be grasped. Then the Kronstadt rebels, the cause they have fought for, the blood they have shed will be judged differently.

An appeal to the world Proletariat.

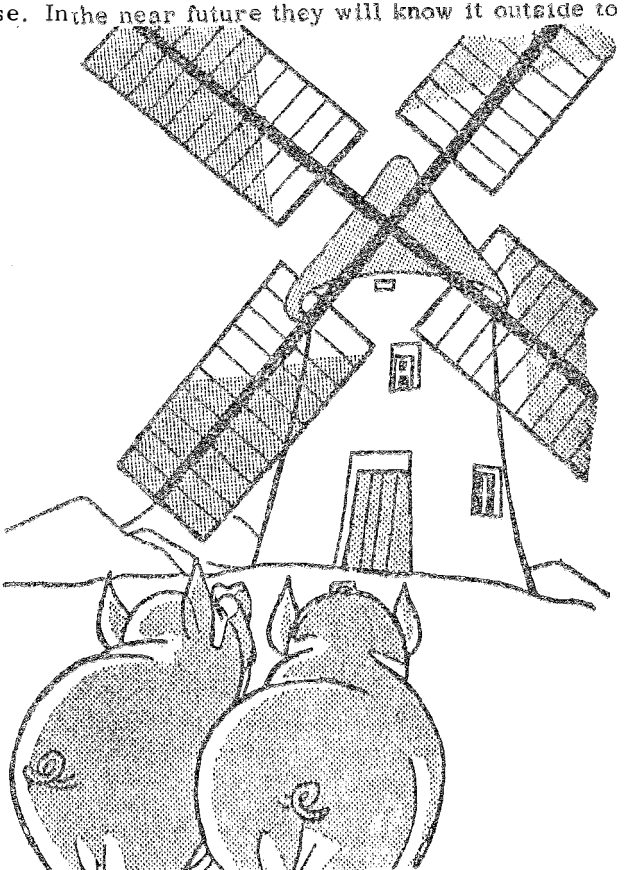
The main argument advanced against the Kronstadters has been the sympathy with wich the counter-revolutionary press greeted the uprising. In an article in the Weekly Review of the Russian Press, Radek used to the maximum this fact, intending to provide his readers with proofs to the counter-revolutionary character of the uprising itself. It is well known that the readers of the communist press are easily satisfied and it is no wonder that this article, written with the logic of an attorney, has been circulated by the communist papers in many countries. Until now, few have had the idea to examine seriously the virtue of this famous argument. It is sufficient that it comes from Moscow. Yet it proves nothing, it is true that reactionaries of all colours have always exploited all possibilities. If, for example, the Spanish Government, for years, has been banning the anarchist and syndicalist press while the organ of the Communist Party of Madrid "El Comunista" is free, it does not imply that the Government has a specific predilection for El Comunista but, by these tactics, it seeks to divide the working class movment and weaken its influence.

And if during the war, the former Imperial German Government had allowed Lenin and his Swiss friends to cross Germany in a sealed wagon (a legend demolished by Souvarine in the Social Contract) and reach Russia, it was not due to its sympathy for the Bolsheviks, but simply because it thought that such an action would be of interest to its own policies. By analogy, Radek and others like him, try from similar facts to conclude that the Kronstadt uprising was reactionary. This is not only infamous but an absurd inference.

The fact is that the insurgents, with contempt, refused all help from the reactionaries. When the news of the uprising had reached Paris, the Russian capitalists living in exile, had offered 500.000 francs to the insurgents. This offer was categorically rejected by the insurgents. When, in another connexion, certain numbers of counter-revolutionary officers, also in Paris, offered their services by radiogrammen, the

answer by the same channel was: Remain where you are! We don't like the service of people like you!

Is this a counter-revolutionary language? Definitively not! The leaders in Moscow know it better than anybody else. But because the truth about the events of Kronstadt appeared to be particularly dangerous they had vigorously to conceal the real causes and motivations behind a heap of misinformations and patented untruths. In Russia itself they well know what is the case. In the near future they will know it outside too.



PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY.

VI.

THE CAPITALISTS ASSOCIATE AND DO NOT DEVOUR EACH OTHER.

"In showing by figures that since 1845 the number of capitalists has tripled, you are giving an argument to the defender of Capitalism, to the entire bourgeoisie, who are trying to prove that the capitalist mode of production has the effect of augmenting the general well-being and of diminishing the misery among the workers." This is the objection which is made to me sometimes by men very sincerely devoted to the social revolution.

They may reassure themselves; the same statistics pronounce the condemnation of Capitalism much more surely, much more severely, than the pretended law of concentration. I know well that the defenders of the iniquities of the capitalist system try to prove that our accusations against the State and exploitation are destitute of the least foundation or the least reason. An economist and statistician of renown, R. Giffen, has already used against us this growth in the number of exploiters. "Fifty-five thousand properties inherited per year," he says, "represent one and a half to two millions of individuals who possess a property subject to income tax (*i. e.* of value greater than £100.)" Giffen believed that by his proof of the increase in the rich, he was showing diminution in the number of the poor. He forgot only the increase in the figure of the population.

Indeed, if we admit that since 1845 up till now the number of the rich in England has not only doubled, as R. Giffen tells us, but has quadrupled, bringing their number to four millions, the number of the disinherited presents itself before us much greater than in the times of our fathers.

In England we find:

	1841—45	1894
Population	26,500,000	38,700,000
Possessors.....less than	1,000,000	4,000,000*
Poor	25,500,000	34,700,000

* According to Giffen two millions only.

By these figures we see that neither the supposed law of concentration, "expropriation of the larger number of capialists by the few," nor the affirmation of the defenders of the bourgeoisie is confirmed. Contrary to the fatalist law of Marx, the number of capitalists (especially of small capitalists) has tripled itself; contrary to the affirmation of the bourgeois scientists, misery has increased.

It is very interesting to notice how class prejudices with Giffen, and those of metaphysics and dialectics with Marx, have led the two scientists to conclusions completely opposed to each other and equally erroneous. If Robert Owen, Oastler, Dickens, Kingsley, and so many others have had good reason for pleading the cause of the poor and for condemning the social and political order of the England of their time, how much more William Morris, Tom Mann, John Turner, and others have had it in advocating a struggle for the destruction of that enslaving organization which triples the number of the parasites and oppressors, and which maintains in servitude a population of which the number has been increased by nearly ten millions!

To free itself, the people have no need for other arguments than the misery and the cries of those 34,700,000 disinherited. They must understand only that no dialectical fantasies, no increase in the number of the rich, no paltry reforms of the parliamentarians, will bring them anything but an aggravation of suffering and humiliation. Revolution only, not reforms,* can put an end to the increase in the number of their exploiters, an end to their suffering as slaves of the State and of capital.

"But," it will be said, "you cannot deny that capitals, as much social as private, agglomerate." Yes, they agglomerate, and even concentrate, if you like. Only, this concentration has nothing in common with the "expropriation of the large number of capitalists by the small," of which Marx made a law. Instead of an expropriation, it is a flowing together, an association of capitalists, with a view to procuring the greatest possible profit for those participating in the company, in the enterprise. If a financial company is not a Panama—and we know hundreds of companies which take care of the interests of their shareholders—the participants, instead of being expropriated, are enriched. Take no matter what financial or industrial company, it is organized to prosper the fortunes of its share-

* The scientific reformers of the school of Engels boast about the benefits of a progressive income tax. In reality this tax is nothing else than a division of spoil between the thieves and the State, their defender. "Give me a share of what you steal from the people, and I will guarantee you, with the help of the army and the administration, the product of your theft," says the State.

holders

M. H. points out to me that in that case it may happen that "the men who were formerly employers may become simply stockholders." Well, what then? Are stockholders people who have been expropriated? Or, is not rather the position of stockholder the ideal form of capitalist possession? A stockholder is a privileged person, a typical representative of social parasitism. A noble lived upon his lands, cultivated by his peasants; an industrial employer lives upon the labor of his workmen; a stockholder lives upon the activity of the nation, and often of many nations. Are we to reckon "simple stockholders" among the expropriated? A proprietor, tired with the cares of administration, sells his property, and with the sum realized buys the shares of a shipping company, of a railway company, etc., or invests in State bonds, which guarantee him a revenue of four per cent. Are we to place him among the disinherited or among the privileged parasites? Precisely the number of these stockholders and parasites is increasing in our time. In order that the true character of affluence of concentration of capital in modern industry and commerce may be understood, I give here the analysis of some enterprises based upon that principle.

First. In commerce. There exists in London a firm in the fur trade. It is a commission firm, which has done business with every country in the world. It sells the skins and the furs of the polar regions, as well as those of Africa, Asia, and Central Australia. It counts its creditors and its agents by hundreds, and the number of the furs sold each year is valued in millions (7,800,000 francs in 1895). Its quarterly public sales (January, March, June, and October) attract buyers from every country in Europe. A remarkable fact is that the buyers of the highest quality are in the Russian fur trade, who come to London from the country par excellence of fur hunting and manufacture, to make the most important purchases.

As you see, the firm is a typical company; commerce has been concentrated to the highest degree. Well, has it caused the ruin of many firms in the fur trade? No, their number has increased since this firm was founded. Has it ruined the manufacturers of furs or the collectors of them? No, it is upon their prosperity, upon their increasing number, that the prosperity of this very firm itself rests. It does all that is possible to diminish the cost of transport, of preservation, of storage, and of sale. Its customers know this well, so their number is always increasing. The firm prospers, its customers become rich *at the expense of the producers.* In this special case, at the expense of hunters and fishers. We need not believe that these are paid less than before; their remuneration has risen, and the prices of furs have fallen, yet the firm realizes large profits.

Where does this profit come from? The explanation is very simple. The commission on each article has been diminished, but the number of articles, coming from every quarter of the world, is some hundreds of times greater. If forty or fifty years ago the firm selling 100,000 francs worth of furs per annum, with a commission of ten per cent, realized 10,000 francs, nowadays with a commission of one per cent merely, the firm will receive 78,000 francs per annum. In diminishing as much as possible the profit on each article, on each consumer, on each producer, but in handling as many articles as possible, in attracting the greatest number of consumers, in exploiting instead of ten or a hundred producers, one thousand or ten thousand of them—there you have the true source of the fabulous fortunes of these times.

In industry, in finance, in the public services, everywhere, we see the effect of this method.

Second. The public services. Fifty years ago the postal service, in England, as everywhere else, was used only by the rich; the service was dear, the revenue of the State insignificant. But once the post was made cheap, the people also began to take advantage of it, and the annual revenues of the State have increased, so that in 1896 the English postoffice had 355,000,000 of francs gross revenue, 105,000,000 of net profit. Each customer is much less exploited, but the number of customers is so infinitely greater; in 1837 the post delivered 109,000,000 letters, and in 1896, 3,000,000,000 letters.

It is especially in the revenues of the railway companies that we can see the action of this tendency to the exploitation of the great masses.

In 1837 there were 2,000 miles of railway, which carried 20,000,000 travelers; in 1896, there were 21,000 miles, and 930,000,000 travelers carried. To obtain a profit of 93,000,000 francs in 1837, is was necessary that each traveler should pay 4.45 francs more than the cost of exploitation. With an over-payment of 20 centimes (2 pence, or 4 cents) only—that is to say, twenty times less than in 1837—a sum of double the amount is obtained, 186,000,000 francs. If the railways were able to create 93 millionaires yearly, now they increase the annual number to 186. In reality, the difference between the profits of these two years (1873 and 1896) is much greater, the number of capitalists who live as annuitants possessing railway bonds, is also considerably greater, altho the wages of the employes have been increased and the cost of traveling diminished. Thanks to the progress accomplished by modern technics, the same phenomenon is observed in navigation. Above all the inventions in typography, which have given fabulous development to the daily press and to the book trade, give us evi-

dence that the concentration, "the expropriation of the greater number of capitalists by the few" has not taken place in real life. Everybody knows that the number of booksellers is increasing, that the great newspapers are enriching their proprietors, but very few people understand the true reason of these things. The journals existing were in

	England.	United States.	France.	Germany.	Entire World.
1840	439	1,210	776	305	4,016
1891	1,840	15 392	4,100	5,500	38,036

These 38,036 journals had an incredible issue:

England	issued monthly	150 millions.
United States	" "	230 "
France	" "	120 "
Germany	" "	140 "

The proprietors are almost ten times more numerous, the writers receive higher remuneration, the compositors and all employes receive better wages, the price of the journals has diminished, and yet we know many journals which bring more profit than gold mines. A clever publisher, a fashionable writer, an artist, a popular musician, thanks to the number of copies of a cheap edition, become rich. For instance, already in 1893, an English paper, the "Daily News," said that the young composer Mascagni was already twice a millionaire. Sixty years ago the great Beethoven was dying of hunger in a garret. Now there are millions of people who play the melodies of "Cavalleria Rusticana," while since the appearance of the sonatas and symphonies of the great musical genius, some few thousands of connoisseurs have bought—and at the end of how many years!—the divine pages.

The young and "sympathetic" Mascagni, Zola, Hugo, the publishers of the journals, the postoffice, the universal commercial firm, none of them needed to kill many capitalists to enrich themselves. Outside the sharks of the budget and the stock exchange, outside the patented robbers, the bourgeoisie, in general, enrich themselves in associating, helping each other so as to exploit enlightened humanity better; the modern annual production is fourteen times greater than in 1811. Consequently, to believe that capitalism will destroy its own defenders without the producers needing to put an end to the juggling with all modern progress for the benefit of the exploiters, constitutes not only an error and a stupidity, but the crime of high treason towards humanity and modern culture.

What takes place in commerce and in the public services, in the book trade and in the daily press, takes place also in finance and in industry. If capitals are associated in some undertaking, it is not to deprive the capi-

talists associated of their capital, nor is it in order that "one capitalist should kill off many others." On the contrary, they unite in order to exploit the producers better, in order to realize a larger share of profit for each participant. We have seen also that the number of the proprietors, of parasitical annuitants has increased, and even tripled, in the last fifty years.

As regards finance and banking, I will confine myself to citing the statistics for the United States. My reason for this is that, as everybody knows, with the Americans banking and financial enterprises start up and disappear like mushrooms; besides, private fortunes, difficult to calculate, are created there more rapidly than in Europe. If the so-called "inevitable" law of the "greater number of capitalists by the few" were to show its effects, the United States would present the most favorable conditions. Yet the number of banks and the amount of their capitals are growing without cessation.

Here are the figures; they are eloquent:

Years	Number of Banks.	Capitals in Pounds Sterling.	Deposits in Pounds Sterling.
1801	33	7,000,000	
1830	330	30,200,000	11,600,000
1860	1,526	87,000,000	52,800,000
1876	6,611	149,000,000	132,000,000
1889	6,721	180,000,000	759,000,000

The metaphysicians will tell you that this increase is due to European immigation. Certainly the immigration was enormous, but the greater part of the immigrants were poor devils of workers. This immense accumulation of capital is due, as in all the branches of contemporary social activity, to the progress of the inductive sciences, to their discoveries and marvelous inventions, in no way to Capitalism. The latter confines itself to seizing upon them, just as they are seized upon also by Militarism, by Clericalism, and by all the privileged who group themselves round the State—supreme instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the people.

It is not correct, as stated by M. H., that these banks concentrate "the smallest savings." The economies of the poor people are accumulated in the "savings banks." Their number and their capitals increase as rapidly as those of the financial banks.

In the savings banks of all the European States the increase, in round figures, was:—

Years	Capitals in Pounds Sterling.	Number of Depositors.
1850	52,700,000	2,748,000
1870	127,100,000	10,428,000
1889	648,800,000	19,875,000

But is it necessary that I should continue to tax the patience of my readers by figures and statistics? Every workman, every peasant, every man of common sense knows well the solidarity of the exploiters as a class, that they help each other so they may the better plunder the people, and that the number of social parasites, instead of diminishing, increases. Only the sophists of the school of Engels, blinded by dialectics, that envelope artificial and repulsive which "denatures every idea," those profoundly learned representatives of "scientific Socialism," in a word, the parliamentary soothsayers, are going to keep on preaching that the number of capitalists is always diminishing, and that one fine day the great men, Liebknecht, Marx-Aveling, Guesde, Chauvin, and so many other scientific celebrities are going to decree the collectivist expropriation. Then, of course, the Williams, the Victorias, the popes and kings, will submit without any opposition, because the middle class, the nobility, the clergy, will have disappeared in accordance with the law of concentration; and the crowned heads will have remaining to defend them only a miserable handful of the "potentates of capital." Well, let the scientific Socialists remain faithful to their prejudices, dialectical and metaphysical. It is not to convince them that I write these pages. Their belief *is as scientific* as the conviction of the learned ulemas and the Turkish old women as to the morality of European women.

In order to finish with this fatalist and fundamental law of the Social Democratic creed, let us look if this concentration does not show itself in the principal industry of humanity—in agriculture. To believe Engels and his school, not only concentration, "the expropriation of the greater number by the few," should take place in the possession of the soil, but Socialism, without the peasants losing their land, could not develop itself in any country. In order to prove this metaphysical discovery, have the savants of this school or their master made any researches? What good are researches? We possess the method of dialectics. We can solve every question, without any research, by means of the "philosophical dialog" so much used by the sophists. According to this miraculous dialog, it is necessary in order that Socialism should develop, that the majority of the Russian peasants, for instance, should lose their lands, and become beggars, forced to

enter the factories of the capitalists. Otherwise than by exclusion of the peasants from the land, Socialism can never be developed.

So the disciples of Engels, above all in Russia, preach in full solidarity with the capitalists and Russian reactionaries, like the famous Katkoff, that the government, in the name of progress, should aid the exploiters to ruin the people. To have arrived at preaching such abominations, a man must have—no! a man must have lost all human sentiment; he must have become a doctrinaire dialectician.

Upon what is Engels basing himself to arrive at this monstrosity? Upon the modern history of England, we are assured. But in England the landlords have stolen the land from the people by violence and by fraud, legalized afterwards. Nevertheless, in the last quarter century, without counting three or four odd thousands of English farmers in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, and in Canada (all English countries), in England itself, the number of small proprietors increases. Yes, it increases in spite of the agricultural crisis which the country is going thru. It is not the place here to discuss whence comes that agricultural crisis and the growth in the number of possessors. Let us note only the fact which reveals itself as follows:—

Surface of Possessions.	Number of Possessors		Increase.
	In 1885.	In 1889.	
From ¼ to 1 acre.....	23,512	28,652	
" 1 " 5 acres.....	135,736	144,185	
" 5 " 20 "	148,806	151,372	
" 20 " 50 "	84,149	85,213	
Total.....	392,203	409,422	17,219

("Statesman's Year Book," 1895, pp. 69–71.)

(These figures are cited solely to demonstrate that the number of possessors does not diminish.)

It is to be noted that the half (8449) of the growth concerns possessions of the type of small farms (1 to 5 acres), so that England gives still a solemn contradiction to the "scientific" base. And France? The French figures are not more favorable to the apostles of the expropriation of the peasants. In that country there were:—

In 1826..... 1,300,000 proprietors of land.
In 1835..... 1,400,000 " " "
In 1851..... 1,500,000 " " "

In 1861.	1,700,000	
In 1871.	1,700,000	
In 1885....	1,825,000	" "

The figures are not very exact. However, they indicate the growth of the number of proprietors.

Not only is the number of capitalists not diminished, but Capitalism draws to itself millions of support by corruption, by State distinctions, and by that element most powerful of all, the inventions of modern science. In seizing, for itself only, human progress, it becomes every day more powerful. To put an end to that growing power, to put to *the service of all the progress created by all*, the people must understand that it is not a fatalist law, imagined thru dialectics, which is going to deliver them from slavery, but they themselves by a struggle differently efficacious to the voting-paper dropped into a box once in four years.

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